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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CA-02	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	SRPP-00
	DS-00	EB-01	ED-01	EUR-01	FBIE-00	FDRE-01	HHS-01
	H-01	IMMC-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	L-01
	ADS-00	MFLO-03	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OCS-06	OIC-02
	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00
	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	FMP-00
	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00		/046W
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P 121622Z JUL 95  
 FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0975  
 RWANDA COLLECTIVE PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 KIGALI 002174

E.O. 12356: FOREIGN GOVERNMENT INFORMATION  
 TAGS: PINS, PINR, SOCI, PHUM, MOPS, MARR, RW, CG  
 SUBJECT: ON THE ROAD IN RWANDA: FEAR AND LOATHING  
 ALONG THE LOVELY SHORES OF LAKE KIVU

1. C -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY/INTRODUCTION: DCM AND ECON/CONSULAR OFFICER  
 VISITED KIBUYE PREFECTURE AND KIBOGORA ON THE EASTERN  
 SHORE OF LAKE KIVU GIKONGORO IN A FOUR DAY ROAD TRIP JULY  
 7 - 10, STOPPING IN GIKONGORO ON THE WAY BACK TO KIGALI.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: WILLIAM E LANDFAIR  
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(D)  
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 11 JUL 2005  
 DATE/CASE ID: 10 MAY 2005 200103014

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WE FOUND MANY PEOPLE BACK AT HOME, FIELDS BEING CULTIVATED, BUT AN ATMOSPHERE OF STRAIN, FOREBODING, AND EVEN HATRED PERVADED THE ATMOSPHERE OF THIS BIT OF HEAVEN ON EARTH, SITES OF SOME OF THE MOST HELLISH MASSACRES OF 1994. IN CONVERSATIONS WITH LOCAL OFFICIALS, UNAMIR MILITARY OBSERVERS, HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS AND MEMBERS OF THE NGO COMMUNITY WE CAME AWAY WITH THE IMPRESSION OF A SOCIETY WALKING A RAZOR'S EDGE. SUMMARIES OF CONVERSATIONS AND OUR IMPRESSIONS FOLLOW, WITH, AT THE END, A GUESS ABOUT THE REASON FOR THE DELAY IN THE JUDICIAL PROCESS. END SUMMARY/INTRODUCTION.

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KIBUYE: NEGLECTED LAKESIDE PARADISE,  
SITE OF SOME OF THE WORST MASSACRES

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3. KIBUYE IS THE CENTRAL TOWN OF THE ONLY PREFECTURE IN RWANDA WITHOUT PAVED ROADS. THE 80 KILOMETERS FROM GITARAMA TO KIBUYE TAKES 3 HOURS OR MORE. KIBUYE IS A JEWEL OF A LAKESIDE TOWN, AND RESIDENTS BLAME ITS NEGLECT ON THE UNWILLINGNESS OF THE FORMER GOVERNMENT, WHOSE POPULAR STRONGHOLD WAS IN THE NORTH CENTERED ON GISENYI, TO HAVE A COMPETING LAKESIDE RESORT, ESPECIALLY SINCE KIBUYE WAS DOMINATED, BEFORE THE 1994 MASSACRES, BY TUTSIS. BE THAT AS IT MAY, THE LAKE NEAR KIBUYE OFFERS BREATHTAKING PANORAMAS, PENINSULAS, REMINISCENT OF ITALY'S LAKE COMO. IT WOULD WITHOUT DOUBT BE A TOURIST DRAW IN A MORE STABLE COUNTRY, IF THE ROADS WERE NOT SO DIFFICULT. THERE ARE VERY FEW VEHICLES IN KIBUYE, EVEN AMONG THE NGOS, AND PEOPLE MOVE ON FOOT. UNAMIR'S MILITARY OBSERVERS HAVE LENT THE PREFET A 4WD -- THE

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PREFECTURE'S ONLY VEHICLE --LEAVING THE MILITARY  
OBSERVERS ONLY THREE.

4. WHILE SOME ESTIMATE THAT AS MUCH AS 75 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION HAS RETURNED TO KIBUYE, IT HAS THE AIR OF A PERPETUAL SUNDAY. MOST BUSINESSES REMAIN SHUTTERED. THE MARKET IS SMALL AND DOMINATED BY A FEW DEALERS IN USED CLOTHES AND VERY LITTLE ELSE. THE PREFET ESTIMATES THAT ONLY TEN BUSINESSES HAVE MEANS OF TRANSPORT. THERE

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CONTINUE TO BE REMINDERS OF THE MASSACRES AS ROAD CREWS  
AND FARMERS FREQUENTLY TURN UP BODIES AND BODY PARTS.

[REDACTED] "THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES.

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WE MUST TEACH PEOPLE TO THINK CORRECTLY."

5. [REDACTED] IS THE CIVILIAN [REDACTED] IN  
KIBUYE PREFECTURE. YOUNG, ARTICULATE, SERIOUS, NOT USED  
TO DEALING WITH DIPLOMATICS, HE NEVERTHELESS HANDLED  
HIMSELF EXTREMELY WELL AND BETRAYED EVEN BEFORE ASKED HIS  
BACKGROUND AS A MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL WING OF THE RPF  
DURING THE WAR. (THE RPF, HE ASSURED US, "NO LONGER  
EXISTS.") THE FORMER REGIME, HE TOLD US, HAD USED THE  
TOOLS OF HOSTILITY, POVERTY, INTOLERANCE, DIVISIONISM,  
AND IGNORANCE TO FOMENT HATRED BETWEEN HUTU AND TUTSI.  
WHEN THE RPA ARRIVED IN KIBUYE, [REDACTED] SAID, PEOPLE  
EXPECTED THE SOLDIERS TO RESEMBLE WILD BEASTS, NOT HUMAN  
BEINGS. HIS MAIN TASK SINCE THEN HAS BEEN TO "REEDUCATE"  
THE PEOPLE OF HIS PREFECTURE. "WE MUST TEACH THEM TO  
THINK CORRECTLY," WAS HIS LINE.

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6. TO [REDACTED] "THINKING CORRECTLY" CLEARLY MEANS  
THINKING THE RPA WAY. REVENGE IS WRONG, THE RPA TEACHES,  
SO REVENGE MUST NOT BE TAKEN. CORRECT POLITICAL THINKING  
MUST BE BROUGHT DOWN TO THE LEVEL OF THE PEOPLE, HE SAID,  
GESTURING WITH HIS HAND TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT RIGHT  
THINKING FLOWS FROM ABOVE. DEMOCRACY AND ELECTIONS ARE  
NO

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T POSSIBLE ANY TIME SOON, [REDACTED] SAID, BECAUSE THE  
PEOPLE ARE NOT READY TO MOVE FROM THEIR POLITICAL  
ILLITERACY TO THE NEW WAY OF THINKING THAT RWANDA IS THE  
HOME OF ALL THE RWANDANS. PARLIAMENT IS USELESS OR  
WORSE, BECAUSE IT IS FILLED WITH "POLITICAL BANKRUPTS"  
FROM THE OLD REGIME, WHO INVENTED A FALSE MULTI-PARTY  
POLITICS FOR SELFISH PERSONAL AIMS. [REDACTED] GAVE THE  
IMPRESSION THAT THE BANKRUPT POLITICIANS WOULD BE TAUGHT  
THEIR LESSONS BY THE RPA MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, WHO  
FOR NOW AT LEAST CONSTITUTE THE NUCLEUS OF A SOLID TUTSI

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MAJORITY.

7. [REDACTED] HAD NO RESPECT FOR ANYTHING OR ANYONE NOT SUFFICIENTLY "SERIOUS" -- A WORD HE USED OFTEN. UNAMIR, FOR EXAMPLE, DISPLAYED ITS LACK OF SERIOUSNESS IN THE VAGUENESS OF ITS MANDATE, ITS FAILURE TO STOP THE GENOCIDE, ITS REFUSAL TO SEE THAT ITS PRESENCE IN RWANDA IS DESTABILIZING. THE RPA IS SERIOUS, AND IS PURSUING A

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	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/046W	
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P 121622Z JUL 95  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0976  
RWANDA COLLECTIVE PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 05 KIGALI 002174

E.O. 12356: FOREIGN GOVERNMENT INFORMATION

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TAGS: PINS, PINR, SOCI, PHUM, MOPS, MARR, RW, CG  
SUBJECT: ON THE ROAD IN RWANDA: FEAR AND LOATHING  
ALONG THE LOVELY SHORES OF LAKE KIVU

STRUGGLE IN THREE STAGES: FIRST, THE SEIZURE OF STATE  
POWBR; SECOND, THE CONSOLIDATION OF GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY;

FINALLY, NATION BUILDING. THE FIRST HAS BEEN ACHIEVED  
ALREADY WITH THE MILITARY VICTORY, THE SECOND IS  
UNDERWAY, THE FUTURE WILL SHOW US WHAT NATION-BUILDING  
MEAMS. [REDACTED] WAS VAGUE ABOUT WHAT THAT FUTURE WOULD  
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LOOK LIKE. SERIOUS THINKERS BEGIN BY LOOKING FOR CAUSES,  
[REDACTED] TOLD US, WHILE WEAK THINKERS DEAL ONLY WITH  
EFFECTS.

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8. [REDACTED] WAS PROUD OF THE RESULTS OF THE RPA'S  
RIGOROUS APPROACH TO ANALYZING GOVERNMENT PROBLEMS. THE  
IDP CAMPS IN KIBUYE PREFECTURE HAD BEEN CLOSED WITHOUT  
VIOLENCE, IN CONTRAST TO THE MASSACRE AT KIBEHO, HE TOLD  
US, BECAUSE THE GOR/RPA HAD MADE ITS INTENTIONS CLEAR AND  
THEN FOLLOWED THROUGH. FIRST, HE SAID, FOOD WAS CUT OFF  
AND THE IDPS TOLD TO RETURN TO THEIR COMMUNE. STONES  
WERE THROWN AT RPA TROOPERS OVER A TENSE PERIOD OF A DAY  
OR TWO. BUT WHEN THE RPA COMMANDER MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE  
WOULD USE FORCE TO CLOSE THE CAMPS, THE INMATES TOOK HIS  
WORD -- [REDACTED] DID NOT CALL IT A THREAT -- SERIOUSLY.  
"WE ARE DISCIPLINED," HE SAID. "DISCIPLINE COMES FROM  
BELIEVING IN A CAUSE AND BEING COMMITTED TO IT." HE  
REGRETTED THAT DURING THE WAR HE WAS TOO BUSY TO MARRY,  
THAT NOW HIS JOB IS TOO POORLY PAID TO ENABLE HIM TO TAKE  
A WIFE.

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9. ON JUSTICE, [REDACTED] WAS THE FIRST TO TELL US WHAT  
WE HEARD REPEATEDLY DURING THE VISIT: THERE WAS NO SIGN  
YET OF REPENTANCE FROM THE PERPETRATORS OF THE GENOCIDE.

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[REDACTED] TALKED AT LENGTH OF THE DEFICIENCIES OF THE  
JUSTICE SYSTEM, SPOKE FRANKLY OF THE OVERCROWDING IN THE  
LOCAL PRISON AND IN OTHER PRISONS THROUGHOUT RWANDA, AND  
CONCLUDED THAT THE SYSTEM WAS NOT YET RIPE TO BEGIN WORK.

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BUT WHEN ASKED IF IT WERE FAIR TO KEEP PEOPLE IN PRISON -- SOME OF WHOM AT LEAST WOULD EVENTUALLY BE FOUND INNOCENT -- WHEN THE SYSTEM ON WHICH THEIR INCARCERATION CONFIDENTIAL

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WAS PREDICATED WAS NOT WORKING, HE LET DOWN HIS RATIONALISTIC GUARD FOR THE ONLY TIME IN OUR TWO LONG CONVERSATIONS. "WHY SHOULDN'T THEY STAY IN JAIL?" HE SAID. "THEY DON'T THINK THEY'VE DONE ANYTHING WRONG."

[REDACTED] "THEY WOULD KILL  
ME BECAUSE OF THE SHAPE OF MY NOSE."

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10. [REDACTED] IS AN OLD FRIEND OF THE  
EMBASSY'S, [REDACTED]

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SINCE DECEMBER, HAVING RETURNED FROM EXILE IN BURUNDI THE PREVIOUS AUGUST. HE DENIES EVER HAVING BEEN A MEMBER OF THE RPF/RPA. [REDACTED] RAN THROUGH THE MANY DETAILS OF PROBLEMS IN [REDACTED] MOST OF WHICH HE BLAMED ON THE POOR ROADS AND LACK OF VEHICLE TRANSPORT. HE DESCRIBED A FAIRLY GOOD WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH LOCAL NGOS, AND APPRECIATES THEIR SUPPORT IN MANY SECTORS. BUT HE COMPLAINS THAT TOO MANY NGOS CANNOT ARTICULATE, OR WILL NOT FULLY SHARE, THEIR PLANS. HE HOLDS A MONTHLY NGO MEETING WHEN HE EXPECTS WRITTEN REPORTS, BUT NOT EVERY NGO ATTENDS, THOSE THAT DO OFTEN BRING NO WRITTEN REPORTS.

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11. [REDACTED] TOO RETURNED FREQUENTLY TO THE ABSENCE OF VISIBLE SIGNS OF REPENTANCE AMONG THE HUTUS OF THE PREFECTURE. HE SAYS 36 MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY WERE MASSACRED, AND THAT WHEN HE RETURNS TO HIS HOME COMMUNE PEOPLE WHO WERE PRESENT WHEN HIS PARENTS WERE SLAUGHTERED

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ASSURE HIM THAT HIS PARENTS HAVE GONE TO THE REFUGEE  
Camps in Goma. [redacted] ASSURED US THAT WERE HE TO ENTER  
KIBUYE CENTRAL PRISON WITHOUT HIS BODYGUARD HE WOULD BE  
MURDERED WITHIN MINUTES [redacted]  
BECAUSE HE IS TUTSI.

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UNAMIR'S MILITARY OBSERVERS TELL A  
DIFFERENT STORY OF THE SAME HATRED

12. WE INVITED [redacted]

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[redacted] TO LUNCHEON TO  
TALK ABOUT THEIR VIEWS OF KIBUYE AND ITS PROBLEMS.

[redacted] IMPRESSED US WITH HIS UNDERSTANDING OF  
GOVERNMENTAL ISSUES; [redacted]

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[redacted] HAD A BROAD KNOWLEDGE OF THE  
DAILY PROBLEMS OF LIFE IN THE COMMUNES AROUND KIBUYE.  
BOTH EXPRESSED ADMIRATION FOR [redacted]

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[redacted] BUT THEY SAW THE PROBLEM FROM A DIFFERENT SIDE.  
THE HUTUS IN KIBUYE, THEY TOLD US, HAVE NOT YET ACCEPTED  
THAT THE GOR IS THE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA. IN  
THE EVENT OF AN INVASION BY EX-FAR FORCES THEY OPINED  
THAT THE HUTUS WOULD JOIN THE EX-FAR IN BATTLING THE RPA.  
THE MILITARY OBSERVERS REPORT THAT RPA SECTIONS OF ABOUT

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P 121622Z JUL 95  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0977  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 05 KIGALI 002174

E.O. 12356: FOREIGN GOVERNMENT INFORMATION  
TAGS: PINS, PINR, SOCI, PHUM, MOPS, MARR, RW, CG  
SUBJECT: ON THE ROAD IN RWANDA: FEAR AND LOATHING  
ALONG THE LOVELY SHORES OF LAKE KIVU

EIGHT MEN EACH DEPLOY EVERY EVENING IN DIFFERENT  
LOCATIONS IN THE HILLS ALONG THE SHORE OF LAKE KIVU.

13. [REDACTED] DESCRIBED THE INSECURITY, EVEN  
PARANOIA, OF THE LOCAL POPULATION, A THEME THAT NGO  
WORKERS ALSO ECHOED. UNAMIR'S MILITARY OBSERVERS  
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BELIEVE THAT THE RPA HAS BEEN SYSTEMATICALLY ROUNDING UP  
ABLE-BODIED HUTU MEN AND PUTTING THEM IN PRISON, AND THAT  
THE RESULT HAS BEEN BANDS OF MEN HIDING IN THE HILLS.  
SECURITY IS GOOD IN KIBUYE ITSELF, HOWEVER, AND THEY  
DISCOUNTED THE POSSIBILITY OF A SERIOUS ATTACK ACROSS THE  
LAKE FROM IDJWI ISLAND BECAUSE THE EXPANSE OF WATER IS

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TOO VAST AND UNPROTECTED AT KIBUYE. BUT THERE HAVE BEEN VISITS FROM ARMED MEN WHO COME AT NIGHT TO STEAL AND KILL, AND IT IS NOT EASY TO EXPLAIN WHO THEY ARE OR WHENCE THEY COME.

14. [REDACTED] BELIEVES THAT THE PROBLEM OF HATRED BETWEEN HUTU AND TUTSI IS INSOLUBLE. HE DOES NOT SEE HOW THE MINORITY TUTSI ARMY CAN CLAIM LEGITIMACY FOR LONG IN THE FACE OF A TRUCULENT AND RESENTFUL MAJORITY POPULATION WHICH, HE ALSO AGREES, THINKS IT DID NOTHING WRONG IN MASSACRING TUTSIS IN 1994. [REDACTED] TOOK US OUT  
AFTER LUNCH FOR A TOUR OF THE TOWN. WE VISITED A STUNNING STONE CHURCH, THE SITE OF ONE OF THE TOWN'S MASSACRES, AND THE STADIUM WHERE EX-FAR MACHINE GUNNERS ON THE HIGH GROUND COMMANDING THE FOOTBALL FIELD ARE SAID TO HAVE AMUSED THEMSELVES BY HERDING THEIR VICTIMS FIRST TOWARD, THEN AWAY FROM THE EXITS WITH DIRECTED FIRE. AS MANY AS 200,000 ARE SAID TO HAVE DIED IN KIBUYE PREFECTURE ALONE.

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KIBOGORA: "BANDITS" ATTACK WITH  
IMPUNITY FROM IDJWI ISLAND  
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15. KIBAGORA IS A MISSIONARY COMMUNITY TWO HOURS' DRIVE  
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SOUTH OF KIBUYE ACROSS THE BORDER INTO CYANGUGU  
PREFECTURE. AMERICAN MISSIONARIES STARTED BUILDING THE  
PLACE IN 1935. NOW THERE IS A HOSPITAL, WITH TDY  
SURGICAL COVERAGE, A NURSES' TRAINING SCHOOL, A TECHNICAL  
SCHOOL, AND AN ORPHANAGE. WHERE ONCE THERE WERE SIX  
MISSIONARY FAMILIES, NOW ONE BRITISH NURSE ASSISTED BY  
TWO TEMPORARY VOLUNTEERS TRIES TO KEEP THINGS GOING  
BETWEEN TOURS OF SHORT-TERM DOCTORS. AGAIN, THE BEAUTY  
OF THE PLACE IS BREATHTAKING -- BOUGAINVILLEA, ROSES,  
TENDED LAWNS ON A HILL  
OVERLOOKING THE LAKE WITH A  
PENINSULA JUTTING INTO THE LAKE A COUPLE OF MILES FROM  
THE SHORES OF IDJWI ISLAND WITH THIS ESTIMATED 40,000  
REFUGEES.

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16. THE UNAMIR MILITARY OBSERVERS THERE REPORT FREQUENT ATTACKS FROM IDJWI-BASED "BANDITS" -- A WORD WITH WHICH THEY ARE NOT COMFORTABLE BUT WHICH THEY SAY UNPKO HQ PREFERS TO ANYTHING MORE SPECIFIC. THESE BANDITS WITHOUT A CAUSE COME AT NIGHT, IN BOATS AND CANOES, SOMETIMES TO KIBOGORA, SOMETIMES TO THE PENINSULA, USUALLY TO STEAL FOOD, BUT ALMOST ALWAYS TO KILL. ALWAYS, WHEN THEY KILL, THEY KILL TUTSIS. IN RESPONSE TO THE FREQUENT "BANDIT" ATTACKS, THE RPA HAS SET UP MACHINE GUN EMPLACEMENTS WHERE THE MAINLAND AND THE PENINSULA COMMAND THE CHANNEL OUT TO IDJWI, AND HAS BANNED ANY BOAT LARGER THAN A CANOE -- BUT THE ATTACKS CONTINUE. SOMETIME AROUND JULY 4 KIBOGORA TOWN, SOME 200 YARDS FROM THE MISSION, WAS ATTACKED BY A BAND ESTIMATED AT 45 MEN, WHO WENT THROUGH THE TOWN SILENTLY, WITHOUT FIRING WEAPONS, BREAKING INTO SHOPS AND APPARENTLY, BIZARRE THOUGH IT MAY SEEM,

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SLAUGHTERING AND BUTCHERING A GOAT AND A COW IN THEIR WAKE. THIS BAND MAY HAVE COME FROM THE MOUNTAINS BEHIND KIBOGORA -- THE MILITARY OBSERVERS HAD MORE CONFIDENCE IN THE RPA MACHINE GUNNERS THAN TO BELIEVE THAT BOATS WITH 45 MEN COULD HAVE SLIPPED THROUGH THE DEFENDED CHANNEL.

17. THE MILITARY OBSERVERS -- WE MET TWO ZIMBABWEANS, A RUSSIAN, A NIGERIAN, AND AN INDIAN AT KIBOGORA -- KNOW THAT WHAT IS GOING ON IS NOT BANDITRY, BUT THEY ARE NOT PREPARED TO GO SO FAR AS TO CALL IT PART OF A LARGER INSURGENCY. THEY THINK IT IS DISORGANIZED, REFLECTING THE ACTIONS OF DESPERADOES WHO NEED FOOD AND WANT REVENGE FOR THEIR EXILE RATHER THAN PART OF SOMETHING ORGANIZED WITH THE DELIBERATE ATTEMPT OF POLITICAL DISRUPTION. THEY MAY BE RIGHT; THE EFFECT, IN OUR VIEW, IS THE SAME. THE MILITARY OBSERVERS MOVED TO KIBOGORA FROM ANOTHER LOCATION A FEW MONTHS AGO, BECAUSE THEY FELT THAT KIBOGORA OFFERED THEM MORE SECURITY FROM THE INCREASING NUMBERS OF UNEXPLAINED ATTACKS.

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IN GIKONGORO, HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD WORKERS TALK OF "THE INVASION"

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18. ON THE ROAD BACK TO KIGALI WE STOPPED IN GIKONGORO  
TO VISIT THE PRISON AND TALK TO THE HRFOR FIELD OFFICE

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ACTION AF-01

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P 121622Z JUL 95  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0978  
RWANDA COLLECTIVE PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 05 KIGALI 002174

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SUBJECT: ON THE ROAD IN RWANDA: FEAR AND LOATHING  
ALONG THE LOVELY SHORES OF LAKE KIVU

WORKERS THERE. THE PRISON WAS AS OVERCROWDED AS WORDS  
CAN DESCRIBE, THE FIELD WORKERS SEEMED TO HAVE A GOOD

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WORKING RELATION WITH THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES. THEY ALSO REMARKED ON THE LACK OF REPENTANCE AMONG THE HUTU POPULATION; EVEN WITH THE PRESUMPTION OF INNOCENCE WITH WHICH THEY BEGIN THEIR WORK, SOME OF THE PEOPLE IN PRISON

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MUST HAVE PARTICIPATED IN THE GENOCIDE BUT THEY SAW NO SIGN OF INDIVIDUAL OR MASS OUTPOURINGS OF REGRET. ONE COMMENTED ON A REBURIAL CEREMONY HE HAD ATTENDED, WITH MASSES OF DECOMPOSING BODIES SHIFTED, WITH SOME CEREMONY AND DIGNITY, FROM A MASS GRAVE TO MORE DIGNIFIED FINAL RESTING PLACES. AN EXPERIENCED JOURNALIST, HE COULD DESCRIBE THE EXPERIENCE ONLY AS A "PUNISHMENT" FOR THOSE FORCED TO OBSERVE IT, A REMINDER THAT GENOCIDE HAD HAPPENED.

19. THEY TALKED OPENLY OF "THE INVASION" FROM BUKAVU THAT THEY HAVE BEEN WARNED BY THEIR LOCAL UNAMIR MILITARY OBSERVERS (WITH WHOM WE DID NOT MEET) WILL OCCUR DURING JULY. THEY HAD HEARD OF SURVEILLANCE OVERFLIGHTS FROM THE ZAIRIAN SIDE OF THE BORDER, BUT BELIEVED THE FLIGHTS WERE OCCURRING AT NIGHT. THEY WERE DEMORALIZED AND DISILLUSIONED WITH THEIR WORK, WHICH THEY PURSUE WITH EVIDENT INTELLIGENCE AND ENERGY, BUT TO AN END THEY CANNOT DEFINE. ONE HAD STAKED HER HOPES THAT LOCAL TRIALS WOULD START SOON ON QUICK RESULTS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL; WHEN WE EXPLAINED THE STATE OF PLAY OF THE TRIBUNAL AND ITS CURRENT TIMETABLE AS WE KNOW IT SHE WAS VISIBLY DISTRAUGHT.

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COMMENT: A SOCIETY ON THE EDGE  
OF A NERVOUS BREAKDOWN  
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20. WHAT FOLLOWS AS COMMENT REPRESENTS THE MUSINGS OF THE OFFICER WHO DRAFTED THIS TELEGR  
AM, NOT/NOT A

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CONSENSUS OF MISSION OPINION.

21. WE CAME BACK FROM OUR TRIP DEPRESSED. THE ORPHANAGE DIRECTOR IN KIBOGORA ESTIMATES THAT 60 PER CENT OF HIS CHARGES -- ALL HUTU -- WERE ABANDONED BY THEIR PARENTS AS THEY FLED TO GOMA. ANOTHER CHILD CARE WORKER TOLD US OF FISTFIGHTS AND OPEN HATRED BETWEEN TUTSI AND HUTU CHILDREN IN HER CHARGE. ON THE BRIGHT SIDE, ENFANTS DU MONDE IN KIBUYE REPORTED AN IMPRESSIVE RATE OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION.

22. THE HATRED BETWEEN HUTUS AND TUTSIS IS SO OVERT IN KIBUYE THAT ONE VERY BLONDE VERY SHORT AMERICAN NGO WORKER TOLD US THAT HER RWANDAN FRIENDS "JOKE" THAT SHE WOULD HAVE BEEN KILLED DURING THE MASSACRES BECAUSE OF HER STRAIGHT "TUTSI" NOSE. AT A PARTY GIVEN BY MEDECINS SANS FRONTIERES ONE EVENING THIS WOMAN TOLD US OF HER WORK IN COMMUNES, RECAPPING SPRINGS TO ENSURE THE PURITY OF DRINKING WATER; SHE PAYS HER WORKERS, PEOPLE IN THE VILLAGES DON'T CARE TO VOLUNTEER THEIR WORK. "AREN'T THEY THIRSTY ENOUGH TO WORK FOR FREE?" ONE PARTYGOER ASKED? SOMEONE OFFERED THAT PEOPLE WERE TOO DEMORALIZED AND TRAUMATIZED TO THINK OF VOLUNTEERING; THE QUESTION CAME BACK, "ARE THEY TOO DEMORALIZED TO BE THIRSTY, OR ARE THEY DOING NOTHING TO HELP THEMSELVES BECAUSE AN NGO WILL COME ALONG, SOONER OR LATER, AND DO IT FOR THEM?" CONVERSATION SHIFTED TO A NEW SUBJECT.

23. WE WERE MOST IMPRESSED BY YOUNG [REDACTED] , AND HIS RATIONAL, LOGICAL APPROACH TO PROBLEM ANALYSIS. BUT CONFIDENTIAL

1.4(D)

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NEITHER HE NOR [REDACTED] COULD ANSWER OUR QUESTION: WHAT DOES THE FUTURE OF RWANDA LOOK LIKE TO YOU? [REDACTED]

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REJECTED THE NOTION OF RECONCILIATION OUT OF HAND, AND  
SAID HE WOULD PREFER TO STOP HEARING FOREIGNERS TALK  
ABOUT IT. [REDACTED] TALKED ABOUT POLITICAL REEDUCATION,  
CONJURING UP FOR US AN IMAGE OF SOME KIND OF CULTURAL  
REVOLUTION IN RWANDA. WE HAD, BY HAPPY COINCIDENCE, THE  
OCCASION TO BUY A DRINK FOR AN RPA ADJUTANT, (WARRANT  
OFFICER SECOND CLASS) [REDACTED] WHO HAD GROWN UP  
IN UGANDA AND FOUGHT WITH THE RPA FROM THE BEGINNING.

1.4(D)

[REDACTED] SPOKE AS THOUGH HE HAD JUST COME FROM ONE [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] LECTURES, GIVING US THE STRAIGHT RPA LINE ON  
RWANDA THE HOME FOR ALL THE RWANDAN PEOPLE, NO REVENGE,  
LIBERATE THE PEOPLE FROM THE IGNORANCE FORCED ON THEM BY  
THE OLD GOVERNMENT. THE TENDENCY OF THESE IDEAS, OF  
COURSE, DOES NOT BEAR THINKING -- A MASS RE-EDUCATION  
CAMPAIGN?

1.4(D)  
1.4(D)

24. AND YET. AND YET. 48,000 IN PRISON, AND BRILLIANT  
[REDACTED] CANNOT GIVE A REASON WHICH EXPLAINS WHY  
NOT ONE TRIAL HAS HAPPENED. A HUMAN RIGHTS WORKER IN  
GIKONGORO NEAR TEARS WHEN SHE REALIZES THAT THE TRIBUNAL  
HAS NOT GOT DOWN TO WORK. ESCAPING HUTU FAMILIES  
ABANDONING THEIR CHILDREN AS THEY FLEE TO GOMA, PERHAPS  
IN THE HOPE THAT THE FOREIGN MISSIONARIES WHO HAVE BEEN  
THERE SO LONG WILL LOOK AFTER THEM, AS THEY HAVE DONE,

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ACTION AF-01

INFO LOG-00 AID-00 CA-02 CIAE-00 OASY-00 DODE-00 SRPP-00

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DS-00	EB-01	ED-01	EUR-01	FBIE-00	FDRE-01	HHS-01
H-01	IMMC-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	L-01
ADS-00	MFLO-03	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OCS-06	OIC-02
OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00
SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	FMP-00
PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00		/046W

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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0979

RWANDA COLLECTIVE PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 05 OF 05 KIGALI 002174

E.O. 12356: FOREIGN GOVERNMENT INFORMATION

TAGS: PINS, PINR, SOCI, PHUM, MOPS, MARR, RW, CG

SUBJECT: ON THE ROAD IN RWANDA: FEAR AND LOATHING  
ALONG THE LOVELY SHORES OF LAKE KIVU

PERHAPS WITH NO THOUGHT AT ALL TO THE WELFARE OF THEIR  
OFFSPRING, ONLY FEAR FOR THEIR OWN SAFETY. THE GENOCIDE

ISSUE DOES NOT GO AWAY. THE NAGGING THOUGHT THAT THE  
GOR/RPA DOES NOT WANT IT TO GO AWAY BECOMES MORE  
PERSISTENT. THE REBURIAL CEREMONY THAT SEEMED LIKE A  
PUNISHMENT. THE INSISTENCE ON SOME SIGN OF REPENTANCE  
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THAT HAS NOT MATERIALIZED, AND, WHEN IT DOES, WILL BE  
JUDGED BY WHOM? (LEONARD COHEN SINGS, ON HIS LATEST  
ALBUM, THE FOLLOWING LINE: "WHEN THEY SAID, "REPENT," I  
WONDERED WHAT THEY MEANT?")

25. IN SOME SENSE THE GENOCIDE IS THE ONLY PILLAR ON  
WHICH THE LEGITIMACY OF THE REAL GOVERNMENT -- THE RPA --  
RESTS. THEY WOULD NOT WIN AN ELECTION, THEIR ETHNIC  
GROUP WOULD AGAIN BE POLITICALLY MARGINALIZED. WE  
UNDERSTAND THAT PARLIAMENT, DOMINATED BY TUTSIS, HAS NOW  
REJECTED THE IDEA OF FOREIGN MAGISTRATES. WHAT IF THE  
PLAN IS THIS: KEEP PEOPLE IN PRISONS -- THE RED CROSS

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WILL FEED THEM, CLOTHE THEM -- IN FULL KNOWLEDGE THAT  
50,000 TRIALS ARE IMPOSSIBLE. WAIT WHILE THE TRIBUNAL  
DIDDLES, AND REMIND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THAT IT  
DID NOTHING TO STOP THE GENOCIDE AND HAS DONE NOTHING TO  
BRIN

G ITS PERPETRATORS TO JUSTICE. DO NOT LET THE  
GENOCIDE ISSUE REST. DO NOT TRY TO REACH RECONCILIATION.  
KEEP THE GENOCIDE IN THE FRONT OF EVERYONE'S CONCEPTION  
OF RWANDA. CAN THIS BE THE RPA'S STRATEGY TO BUY TIME  
WHILE PEOPLE LIKE [REDACTED] TEACH PEOPLE TO THINK  
CORRECTLY AND MOVE ONTO PHASE THREE OF THE CONSOLIDATION  
OF POWER? WE OFFER THIS THOUGHT, AFTER A PARTICULARLY  
DEPRESSING TRIP TO A PARTICULARLY LOVELY PART OF THE  
WORLD, FOR OUR READERS' CONSIDERATION.

RAWSON

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